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Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and the leaders of the railway brotherhoods, the threatened railroad strike was averted and the country spared a terrible tragedy.

"On every hand there are strikes and threats of strikes. Most of these disturbances have been provoked by radical agitators who have not the interests of the toilers at heart, but who seek to promote industrial warfare for the purpose of destroying our present economic system and substituting industrial ownership by the proletariat." Fortunately, the same leaders of organized labor have, after a short period, succeeded in regaining control of their temporarily rebellious unions and restoring orderly procedure under the laws and rules of the American Federation of Labor.

"The conduct of men who call themselves loyal supporters of trade unionism in breaking away from the authority of their duly elected officials and inaugurating uncalculated, unnecessary and unauthorized strikes should at all times be severely condemned and the agitators who foment such outbreaks should be visited with the severest penalties possible under trade union rules. For trade unions to permit themselves to be brought under the influence of lawless agitators at this time of national stress is treason not only to the principles of trade unionism but to the United States of America. It would not be too severe punishment to revoke the American Federation of Labor charters of such unions and put them outside the pale of decent organized labor."

### Labor Owe Duty to President

"Your committee is of the opinion that President Wilson's reasoning is based on sound economic principles and that organized labor owes a duty to the President to give him wholehearted assistance in his efforts to reduce the cost of living and place the nation on a strong business basis. We owe the President of the United States the same loyal support that we gave him during the war, even though we may suffer from a temporary disadvantage which after all may be more apparent than real."

Your committee therefore recommends:

"FIRST—That organized labor exert itself to the utmost to increase production of essential commodities and thereby lower the cost to the producer, to enable him to lower the cost to the consumer. This applies, not alone to the necessities of life, but to all manufactured articles which are bartered in commerce at home and abroad, and the production, manufacture and sale of which labor draws its earnings and employers their profits. This can only be accomplished by employers and wage earners working together to that end, each casting aside all striving for temporary advantage and pulling together in double harness for the general good of all the people of the United States and the emancipation of the world from the economic troubles which now beset the peoples of all lands. The eight-hour day for toilers is, generally speaking, an accomplished fact.

"It is labor's duty and it should be its pleasure to produce as much in eight hours as it formerly produced in ten, and even more. To that end every man and woman that works for wages should bend every effort to letting the close of each day's work see that he or she has individually added more, and still more, of marketable commodities to the wealth of the world than he or she produced the day before."

### Should Be No Letting Down

"There should be no letting down. There must be intensified production. That means that we will all have to work a little harder than we are now working. Our material reward will come through decreasing the cost of living, thus automatically increasing our wages. Our spiritual reward will come from the fact that every additional motion we make with our tools adds so much to the help we extend to the people of other lands who are less fortunate than we Americans."

"Remember what Samuel Gompers has said: 'American labor fights not so much for itself as it does to bring more of light and happiness into the

lives of less fortunate people everywhere."

"As American organized labor did not spare itself in the gigantic task of producing the manufactured commodities which contributed to relieve the world of a military peril, so it should now resolve not to spare itself in relieving the world from the menace of economic ruin."

"SECOND—As every strike which stops a factory wheel from turning or otherwise interrupts the processes of production contributes to retard the United States from regaining its rightful supremacy, and the people from realizing the prosperity to which they are entitled, your committee is of the opinion that every effort should be made by the New York State Federation of Labor to discourage strikes except in cases where vital principles of trades unionism are at stake, or where employers are practicing intolerable oppression."

### Advices Suspension of Strikes

"Your committee earnestly recommends:

"1. That the Executive Council take steps to cancel and suspend all strikes now in progress in New York state, and to use their influence to prevent the calling of future strikes except in such circumstances as, in the opinion of the Executive Council, render it imperatively necessary to use the strike weapon."

"2. That the truce shall be on the basis of the status quo."

"3. That the period of the truce shall be six months, or for such longer period as President Wilson may require to enable him to effect a reduction of the cost of living."

"4. That notice be served on all employers that any individual, firm or corporation which attempts to take advantage of organized labor's attitude to serve its own interests at the expense of labor shall be left for a reasonable time to such disciplinary measures as other employers or organizations of employers may wish to put into effect, and that if disciplinary measures be not taken by the employers themselves, then organized labor will fight such unfair and disloyal individual, firm or corporation in a manner that will never be effaced from the culprit's memory."

"5. That copies of this report be transmitted to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and to the various State Federations of Labor throughout the United States, with the recommendation that the policy outlined herein be adopted by all."

### Thanks Merchants' Association

"Your committee, through the courtesy of the Merchants' Association of New York, was enabled to hold several conferences at the rooms of the Merchants' Association with representatives of the interests above mentioned. The Merchants' Association named the committee on industrial relations to advise with your committee, and by unanimous action of the executive committee William Follen Morgan, president of the Merchants' Association of New York, was authorized to appoint and did appoint the subcommittee of the industrial relations committee to continue indefinitely the conferences with your organized labor committee."

"For these acts of courtesy and helpfulness your committee extends its thanks to the Merchants' Association of New York, President Morgan, Secretary S. C. Mead, Alfred L. Smith, manager of the industrial bureau, the committee on industrial relations, the executive committee and general officers of the association."

"For the committee, respectfully submitted."

"JOHN F. PIERCE, Chairman."

"ISADORE EPSTEIN, Secretary."

### Two Labor Events

#### Under One Roof

#### De Valera Speaks for Irish Freedom and T. J. Curtis Talks Politics

The two biggest events of New York labor's celebration of Labor Day yesterday were the entertainment of Eamon De Valera by the Central Federation of Labor and the opening of the American Labor party's campaign to elect its candidate, Thomas J. Curtis, to the Board of Aldermen. Both events took place simultaneously at a mass meeting in the Manhattan Casino, 155th Street and Eighth Avenue.

In his address, delivered to an audience of more than 2,000 trade unionists, De Valera, who was supported by the "Irish republic" by American organized labor, maintained that the cause of Ireland is synonymous with the cause of labor the world over, and cautioned the United States not to permit itself to be "entrapped" in the net of international complications by England through the league of nations, which in its present form, he denounced as symbolizing the rule of might over right. De Valera was cheered for five minutes at the beginning of his address, and was escorted out of the hall by cheering crowds.

#### "Scab at Ballot Box"

Mr. Curtis called upon organized labor to get together in a party of its own. He denounced both old parties and asserted that labor will never come into its own until it learns to vote as it strikes. He also told the laboring man who votes for the two old parties "a scab at the ballot box."

The peace treaty came in for violent criticism by De Valera. He contrasted the provisions of the treaty with the league of nations covenant with the pre-armistice utterances of President Wilson and the promises of Lloyd George, and maintained that both have failed of incorporation in the treaty. He attacked England as being on a par with Germany in trying to dominate subject peoples, mentioning among these, Ireland, Egypt and India. His mention of the name of President Wilson provoked hisses from the audience, while the name of Premier Lloyd George evoked both hisses and laughter. "If the American people do not want to be cheated," said Mr. De Valera, "let them do it on their own terms and discover that they have fought a war solely in the interest of England, that they have pledged their strength to maintain an imperialism as tyrannical on the subject peoples as any that has yet cursed the earth, put autocracy still further in the saddle and blasted for generations all hopes of delivery they will insist on guarantees that com-

mon sense dictates now, when they can be got, and not leave them to the future, when there will be no means of forcing them."

### All Look to America

"The whole of the future depends upon the people of America. The democracies of Europe that cannot help themselves are looking to you. They depend upon you to see to it that the chains by which they are bound are not riveted more tightly and that there will be left at least one nation where men can breathe the air of freedom."

Chief Justice Gavanagh, who preceded De Valera, demanded that Congress recognize the Irish Republic. He also attacked President Wilson and the government for its acquiescence in the peace treaty.

"Our government has failed to secure recognition of the American principles for which the war was fought," said Justice Gavanagh. "Our sacrifices were made to secure the right of self-determination to all peoples. Everybody professed to believe in this, and the masses of our people believed in it. But what do we see? The representatives of America at the peace conference tell us to 'open our mouths and shut our eyes and they will give us something that will make us wise.'"

"The masses of the people are beginning to realize that they have been fooled. The people of the United States begin to feel a deep and widespread resentment. The profiteers are holding full sway, while all the rights upon our liberties, devised, we were told, for purposes of defence, are continued long after the war is over. All this contributes to the general feeling of unrest and resentment."

"Labor should demand of its government that the United States formally recognize the Irish Republic. If this Congress does not do it, another Congress will. American organized labor needs only to unite its forces with friends of the Irish people and elect a Congress that will do it. Such action would not result in war with England, for it would be followed by recognition of the Irish Republic by every democracy in the world and all the nations friendly to the United States."

Harry Bolan, secretary to De Valera, also spoke. He said the Irish people placed great faith in President Wilson, that the Sinn Fein party won its election last year solely by sticking to Mr. Wilson's four-point plan, and that the people of Ireland are looking to America to force England to abide by her own professions and by the principles of President Wilson, which she accepted as her own.

President E. J. Hannah, of the Central Federated Union, presided.

### Actors Meet With Painters

More than 1,500 trade unionists were present at a meeting of Local 261 of the Brotherhood of Painters yesterday afternoon at the New Star Casino, 115 East 107th Street, to celebrate what speakers termed the triumph of the union over the boss painters' in the strike for a dollar an hour and a five-day week. It was stated that 150 boss painters have still failed to settle with the union, but there could be little doubt that they, too, would settle in the course of a few days.

A delegation of striking actors from the Actors' Equity Association, headed by Miss Jane Castle, attended the meeting. The delegation was enthusiastically received. Miss Castle was presented with a floral horseshoe bearing the inscription "Actors' Equity Association From the Brotherhood of Painters." The painters, who were actors' success in their battle with the managers, and the actors responded by wishing the painters victory in their fight with their employers. The speakers included L. J. Halseton, Isaac Silverstein, both officials of the Actors' Equity Association, and Norman Thomas, Gerald M. P. Fitzgibbon and Charles W. Ervin, editor of "The New York Call."

### Frank Morrison

#### Issues Statement

#### Insists A. F. of L. Favors Plumb Plan for Solving of Railroad Problem

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, yesterday issued a Labor Day statement, asserting that the organized workers will continue the fight for democracy and against industrial autocracy. He said:

"Labor Day, 1919, the organized workers possess greater intelligence and confidence in themselves than at any other period."

"The trade union movement was true to its historic mission in the great war that defeated military autocracy, and it has not forgotten the plea, 'Make the world safe for democracy,' that so successfully united the people of our country in one purpose."

"The organized workers will continue their efforts to make our country safe for democracy, though certain other elements of our citizenship have abandoned this plea in their desire for material gain, regardless of effects on the nation's life."

"The workers' determination is indicated in their demand that the purchasing power of their wages permit them to meet present living costs."

#### They Have Not Forgotten

"The workers have not forgotten praises showered on them during the war, and they insist that living standards shall not be lowered. They point to government statistics, which show that over \$1.80 is now necessary to purchase goods that were priced at \$1 before the war."

"The railroad solution offered by organized railroad shippers and the railroad brotherhoods, and supported by the American Federation of Labor as a whole, and the declaration of the policy committee of the United Mine Workers of America for the nationalization of coal mines under democratic management, are also indicative of the workers' determination to make our country safe for democracy."

"Government reports show that there

are 8,500,000 persons over ten years of age in this country who cannot read or write the English language. It seems unnecessary to urge that our educational system be revised, that this illiteracy menace to a government 'of, by and for the people' be removed."

"Another policy that would make this country safe for democracy is organized labor's demand that immigration be stopped until such time as those aliens who are now in this country can be assimilated."

### Sentiment Must Give Way

"Sentiment must give way to the dicta of self-preservation when national needs and social aspirations are threatened by waves of immigration that are stimulated by cheap labor employers."

"The proposed plan to 'Americanize the alien' will not be successful while industry is conducted along autocratic lines."

"The attempt to solve this question by company 'don'ts,' welfare work and benevolent features, must first be abandoned. None of these contain the element of fundamental democracy."

"The aliens must be Americanized, but industries like steel trust, that make the alien possible, must first be Americanized. The American spirit of freedom and equality cannot be aroused in a worker who is denied the right of free speech or who has been discharged because he does a lawful thing—joins a trade union."

"On this fundamental the trade union movement stands. It is idle to talk of Americanizing the alien without establishing democracy in industry while an industrial oligarchy ignores guarantees in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution."

"The trade union movement stands for the highest order of Americanism, and it believes that the first step in Americanizing the alien is to Americanize the job."

### Brooklyn Has Only

#### Parade in the City

There was only one Labor Day parade in greater New York yesterday. That was in Brooklyn, where of the hundreds of thousands affiliated with the Central Labor Union mustered about 5,000 men for a march in the city. For the first time in years there were no women in the procession.

The lack of numbers was ascribed by labor leaders principally to the high cost of living, which has driven many workers from the city. Although fifteen bands were out in Brooklyn, approximately 100 unions were represented, the marchers appearing in white felt hats and carrying small American flags.

John P. Coughlin was the grand marshal, with William F. Kehoe as chief aid. Rain delayed the march for an hour and fell at brief intervals during its progress from Borough Hall via Flatbush Avenue to Prospect Park, where it passed through the triumphal arch and proceeded to Park Circle, where several speeches were heard.

### Wilson Policy Is

#### Near Plumb Plan

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1.—Belief that President Wilson is steering for a course in industry that means virtually the acceptance of the principles of the Plumb plan for the railroads was expressed here today by Representative Wood, of Indiana. At the same time officials of the Plumb Plan League openly declared that the President's Labor Day message and the statement regarding the control of the Rock Island and Arsenal by a workmen's committee were to be read together, and that the Rock Island experiment was a complete vindication of the principles of the Plumb plan.

"I believe the President will come out for the Plumb plan ultimately," said Representative Wood. "His message today should be read in the light of the Rock Island statement. I should say he is getting ready for 1920."

"Now is the time for this country to go to the mat and know whether the government is to be run for the people or for a class. If you give the railroad men what they want, the next thing will be printing presses enough in the country to run off the bonds that will be issued."

"Protection of Public"

"I favor the holding of a conference as the President suggests. It is time for both labor and capital to know that their policy cannot be 'the public be damned.' Something has got to be done to protect the public against the crippling of transportation by either capital or labor."

Representative Esch, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, who has been drafting the railroad bill, expressed the belief that the President in referring to another footing for wages was using the same thought he had in mind when speaking of "democratization of industry."

"Putting wages on another basis," said Representative Esch, "certainly sounds like the Plumb idea to me. He cannot be referring to profit sharing, for that is not new. The present system is for the employer and the employee to bargain for wages. The only new basis I see is that involved in the Plumb plan, where capital as the producer of profits is eliminated. The only profit remaining being, as the Plumb people say, 'a profit on increased efficiency.'"

The view that the Rock Island scheme vindicates the Plumb idea was expressed in the following statement made today by ex-Congressman Edward Keating, manager of the Plumb Plan League:

"The report given out by the War Department of the results of the government's experiment in industrial democracy at Rock Island Arsenal is a happy and timely illustration of the

## You need not Suffer



truth of one of the basic principles for which we are contending here in the Plumb Plan League. We maintain that the participation of labor in the control of management will serve greatly to increase efficiency. The War Department report gives conclusive proof of this by showing the extraordinary results that have been obtained at Rock Island under working-men's control."

### Plans for More Conferences

Another angle of the capital-labor conference situation is that on Thursday the Senate and House labor committees will meet in joint session to consider three different resolutions calling for a conference to discuss the industrial situation. Another by Representative Kelly, of Pennsylvania, names a number of prominent men as those to be called into conference. Considerable protest has been aroused, it is understood, by the personnel of this committee. A third resolution by Representative Britten, of Illinois, would have the conference composed of representatives of industry, chambers of commerce, banks and labor.

Midnight critics of the Rock Island experiment declare that for years it has been the claim of the War Department that its arsenal could produce at cheaper rates than private contractors. The latest showing is that it is the latest showing is that the arsenal was relieved of not a few costs that private concerns have to meet in competing with government construction. Among these they mentioned interest on investment in the way of structure and site, deterioration, overhead, ordinary taxes, income taxes, excess profits taxes.

### Plumb Blames Rail Rates

#### On "Pyramided Debts"

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 1.—Glenn E. Plumb explained his railroad control plan to Philadelphia railroad workers today at the Labor Day exercises in Fairmount Park.

High railroad rates, Mr. Plumb asserted, are due to the fact that they are based upon the liabilities of the roads, and that these have been pyramided for generations, so that the public today is paying for virtually the entire cost of the railroads since their construction.

"The railroad experience of the last eighty years," he said, "shows that no road ever paid off an indebtedness except by creating a new indebtedness of the same or greater value."

"For the use of the public for the use of locomotives long since sent to the scrap heap. We are paying returns on the shades of ties that have been replaced half a dozen times, still demand from us the earnings paid by our ancestors. The 'property investment account' of the railroads is certain to be a colossal pile of corruption and dead men's bones."

Mr. Plumb welcomed the plan of

President Wilson for a conference between capital and labor.

"If permitted," he said, "the men supporting labor's plan for democratic control of the railroad industry will gladly join with the President in seeking the solution of the tremendous problems we face."

### Labor and Capital May

#### Agree to Accept Truce

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.—Although much trouble has been caused of late by "illegal" strikes, the general situation today is greatly improved, according to the view of labor leaders now in Washington.

In discussing the improvement in the labor situation, leaders say that the President's various messages have had a standing effect. In this connection, it is asserted, since the President made his appeal to the shophmen to hold up his hands during the present difficult period there has been a remarkable change in the general tenor of the strike referendum votes now being held throughout the country. Unions that voted for a strike on the previous referendum are now reversing themselves, and even unions that participated in the "illegal" strikes have swung over to the side of moderation and deliberation.

The three most conspicuous cases of illegal action are the unauthorized shophmen's strikes in New England, the Middle West and elsewhere; the unauthorized strike of railway men in California—purely a sympathetic strike—and the revolt of the radical element of the coal miners in Illinois, which is as much against the duly constituted union officials as it is against the operators.

The leaders feel if organized labor, as now constituted, is overthrown the industrial balance of power will be shattered. To retain their control and preserve their organizations they will follow the men even into strikes of which they do not approve. The unqualified disapproval of the chiefs of the railway organizations, together with the firm position taken by the California railway strike, and the same combination, plus the President's appeal, terminated the shophmen's strikes.

### Still Strike in Illinois

The "outlaw" coal miners in Illinois are still striking and still rebelling against their organizations; but, while there is a radical element among the coal miners, the hope is expressed that the summoning of a labor-capital conference may lead to a postponing of the dispute between the coal operators and operatives that has been apprehended as a result of the sweeping demands the miners are expected to make at the convention in Cleveland next week.

The influence of the shophmen's executive and committee of one hundred has, it is admitted, also contributed powerfully to this change. The men—all except that section whose real object is to destroy the unions themselves—have been impressed by the logic of the last circular letter issued by the executive committee. This letter showed the men that the 1 cent increase approved by the President completed the cycle of wage increases among railway workers and put them on a par with that respect with all other workers. It also showed that any further increase would amount to the beginning of a new cycle of increases—and that for the shophmen to go on strike for a new advance all by themselves would be foolish, pending the determination of their course by the other railway organizations and also pending the trial of the other method of increasing wages—that is, decreasing prices.

The tendency, according to all reports and views in Washington, is toward a general truce between labor and capital until after the proposed conference and also during the efforts to reduce prices. If the cost of living comes down, that will be the end of some disturbances. The conference may, it is hoped, dispose of the others.

The most deliberate labor leaders are much pleased with the course of the New York State Federation of Labor in proposing that the truce last six months. The President mentioned

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ninety days as the period within which it is expected materially to lower the cost of living, but it is considered that six months would be a better test period. Six months would also be sufficient time for the proposed conference to have met and for its work to begin to get results.

### War Has Its Place in

#### Boston Labor Parade

BOSTON, Sept. 1.—Labor's annual parade in this city today was representative of many trades and crafts, but there was a decided predominance of men of the metal trades. These came chiefly from the Watertown Arsenal and the Fore River and Squantum shipyards. Models of guns and gun carriages and floats showing the progress of the war occupied a prominent place in the line.

The cigarmakers' union, members of which recently returned to work after a prolonged strike, headed the parade. They carried placards condemning three cigar manufacturers who removed their factories to other cities rather than concede the union's demands.

### Atmosphere Clearing

#### Says Secretary Wilson

ALTOONA, Pa., Sept. 1.—Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, speaking at a Labor Day mass meeting today, advised hearers, most of whom were railroad men, to adjust their differences by arbitration rather than by strikes.

He pointed out that many strikes do not bring desired results and that it is safest and wisest for all concerned for labor to get what it can and come back for more later on. He said a spirit of unrest pervades all classes, but the atmosphere is clearing.

### McCutcheon's

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